Reminiscences of the War of the Rebellion

THE THIRD DAY

Of the Battle of Gettys;burg.

THE AWFUL CANNONADE

Carried on by More than 200 Guns.

PICKETT'S GRAND CHARGE

The Terrible Carnage that Accompanied Lee's Last Effort.

> BY MAJ.-GEN. O. O. HOWARD, U. S. A. [COPYRIGHTED .- ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.]

XLVIII. It is not always the case that the characteristics of a young man at school or college remain the same in after life, for he often develops powers that have been dormant and strengthens faculties that were at first weak and unnoticeable; but in the case of Gen. Thos. H. Ruger the marked characteristics of his school days have followed him, to be even more observable in his active manhood. Deliberative, cautions, and yet fearless; persistent, and, if unfairly pressed, obstinate to the last degree, it was a good thing that a division fell to him at Gettysburg.

IT WAS A WISE ORDER given by Gen. Williams to send him back to hold the extreme right of Slocum's line, it being the right of our main line, after his troops could be of no further use in rear of Hancock's Second Corps.

It must have been after 9 o'clock in the night when, moving along the Baltimore turnpike, he cautiously covered the left of his column by flankers or skirmishers, "to ascertain if the enemy held any part of the breastworks, and if not, to occupy them at once." The breastworks were occupied, several of Ruger's skirmishers were captured, and Geary had not yet returned from his eccentric evening march. But Ruger finding a little farther on, beyond a swale which makes into the Rock Creek, that a portion of his barricaded line which he had left in the merning had not been discovered by Confederate Johnson's men, he reoccupied it at once, and strongly posted his division so as to bring an oblique fire upon the sleeping enemy's stronghold. Geary by 12 midnight had worked himself into a corresponding line, prolonging that of Greene's, where the earlier night battle had been fought. Geary faced so as to take the same sleeping enemy with an oblique fire from the other side of the swale. Ruger's and Geary's lines, if prolonged southward, would have met somewhere beyond the Baltimore pike. Batteries were so located near that point, in the actual interval between the lines, as to sweep all the approaches; and besides, two regiments (the 20th Conn. in front of the 107th N. Y.) were deployed in the same interval, so that there should be some little direct opposition should Johnson endeavor to seize the famous turnpike, which at daylight he is bound to discover through the slight openings in the wood; the turnpike being only 700 or 800

yards distant. I can almost see THE TALL FORM OF GEN. GEARY as he crept about through the woods in the posting his troops. Next to Greene he put Kane's Brigade, and on the right of Kane, extending his line, that of Col. Candy. Just in front of this brigade was a narrow lane, which facilitated Geary's preparations and enabled him to double his lines under fair cover. He says, after consulting with Gens. Slocum and Williams, "I devoted the rest of the night to such an arrangement of my troops as, by a vigorous attack at daylight, to drive the enemy from the ground they had gained." This posting included 14 pieces of artillery which Muhlenburg, the artillery chief, brought him, It was carefully located across the Baltimore pike, and supported by Lockwood's little Brigade. Geary doubtless mentally contemplated this work when it was done, and pronounced it good. He declares "all these dispositions were made with the utmost silence and secresy, and within a few rods of the enemy's lines."

BOTH TO ATTACK AT DAYLIGHT. It appears that the Union commander and the Confederate had each ordered an attack at daylight. But Geary, the Union leader, first opened fire with his artillery, continuing it for 10 minutes. Then Geary's troops, or a part of them, began to advance, when the Confederates, taking the offensive, made a rapid charge along Geary's entire front, chouting as they came, but the brigade of Greene and Kane cheered back defiantly, fired rapidly, and yielded no ground. Greene's men clung to their well-constructed breastworks, but Kane's had no protection, except the folds of ground, the rocks, trees and stumps.

After a pretty even struggle of rifle against rifle for perhaps half an hour, the active Geary appeared again on the artillery ground and ordered the fire to reopen, sighting some of the pieces himself. As Confederate Johnson in his charge had brought forward the left of one or two brigades, his lines from their left flank were exposed to a raking fire from the 14 guns. Nothing but the roughness of the terrain prevented an utter destruction of the exposed brigades. Combined with this artillery fire there was a constant blaze from Geary's infantry in position, and several individual regiments were pushed out here and there to seize spon better points for effective work. The comy was first forced back into his in- | Comte de Paris.

obstinate and so much re-enforced that Geary called for re-enforcements. Shaler's Brigade of the Sixth Corps came and enabled Geary to send Lockwood's men from supporting batteries to help Greene and Kane. Geary says: "About 8 a. m.

THE ENEMY REDOUBLED THEIR EFFORTS, and, massing all the force against us that the ground would admit, pressed forward with an evident determination to carry the position at all hazards. This vigorous attack did not succeed, but yet was prolonged by a rapid, well-sustained fire for more than two hours, when, forming once more, apparently in column, having some Confederate Marylanders on the lead, another supreme effort was made; this time, to break through Kane's Brigade, but when they came within 70 paces of this line a volume of fire was opened and continued that no men could stand." Geary graphically says: "This was the last charge. As they fell back our troops rushed forward with wild cheers of life was very great.

GEN. RUGER, on his side of the swale, fired upon Johnson's men, who now and then exposed themselves by entering the re-entrant and striking for the delusive turnpike, the troops or wagons upon which acted as a bait at the mouth of a trap. After a time, under Gen. Williams's instruction, he sent Colgrove's Brigade to attempt Johnson's left. The attack was well made, but did not succeed. A countercharge from the Confederates followed the withdrawal of Colgrove. This was quickly met and repelled. At last, probably following up Geary's victorious shouting and charging, Ruger sent out the 123d N. Y., which succeeded in gaining a point of their breastworks; immediately Ruger's entire Division swept forward and,

seven hours of hard fighting and a carnage which pen cannot describe. After returning from Meade's headquarters the evening before, I made my bed within a fenced lot of the Cemetery. Overcome with extraordinary and prolonged effort and want of sleep. I heard nothing

in conjunction with Geary's men, re-occu-

pied that stronghold which had cost at least

I WAS STARTLED

by the combined artillery and musketry which I have just described, and which appeared near at hand. The roaring of the cannon seemed like thunder, and the musketry may be compared to hail striking a flat roof, growing louder as the storm increases, or lessening as it subsides. I sent immediately to Gen. Meade to inquire what this combat meant. The answer was, "The Twelfth Corps is regaining its lines." Five years afterward I walked over that rough battlefield. The breastworks of logs and stones, though dilapidated, were still traceable. Trees and old stumps were full of holes made by rifle-bullets enlarged by the knives of relic seekers. Quite sizeable trees were completely cut off, some broken and falling or shattered as with lightning bolts. Even the large rocks, partially covered with moss, by the thousands of discolored spots showed how they had been exposed to the leaden storm. It was not strange that the ardent Geary felt as if the main Gettysburg battle

NO REAL DANGER FROM EWELL. But probably at no time was there any imminent peril to our cause from Confederate Ewell's assault. It is only a wonder that he withdrew from Gen. Slocum's wellset traps with no greater loss of life. Geary's reckoning of well prisoners with wounded and killed aggregates about 5,000, including men from Johnson's, Early's and Rodes's Divisions. An extraordinary number of small-arms (nearly 5,000) he reports from that part of the field.

CAVALRY FIGHTING. From the cessation of Slocum's battle to the beginning of Longstreet's last attack was about three hours. During this time when Gen. Lee was making his best preparations for a last effort, our cavalry was doing us good service on the flanks. Stuart, after his raid, had returned, to be sent by Gen. Lee to so place himself beyond our right as to do us the greatest possible damage in case of our defeat. Gens. Fitz-Hugh Lee and Hampton were with him. But the vigilant Gen. Gregg, having under his command Custer, McIntosh and Irving Gregg, with their veteran brigades, was also in that same quarter. A severe battle, involving cavalry and artillery, occurred well out of town and in the vicinity of the Bonaughtown road. Judging by all accounts, it seems to have been a fierce duel, where both parties suffered greatly, losing nearly 1,000 men on each side; but Gregg had the satisfaction of defeating the purpose of his adversary, who of course was soon obliged to withdraw to guard the flanks of his own defeated army.

On our left, where Gen. Farnsworth fell. Kilpatrick's Division contended - often at great disadvantage-with different portions of Longstreet's infantry. There were only two brigades-Merritt's and Farnsworth's. They seemed to have been intent upon capturing sundry supply wagons that hove in sight, when they were obliged to meet and hold in check the best infantry troops of the South.

Doubtless they were badly injured, with heavy losses. A fair\* historian says of the efforts of Kilpatrick: "By drawing toward them two of the enemy's brigades, they have weakened Longstreet's right to such an extent that the latter cannot even attempt ; diversion at the moment when the decisive attack is made."

LEE'S FINAL EFFORT. The final effort of Gen. Lee against our left had two parts or periods: first, the work of his artillery; second, the assault of his infantry. He chose for his point of attack not Little Round Top, as some writers think, but the ground near Ziegler's Grove, which was easier of approach, and he believed would

140 cannon. The ranges to the point of at- crest of the hill. tack would vary from 1,000 to 2,000 yards. attacking lines or columns.

PICKETT'S DIVISION of three brigades was to make the main attack. It was formed with Kemper on the right and Garaett on the left and Armistead in rear. This force had three brigades-

Hunt had arranged the artillery into four | ner on the walls of the enemy."

(1) On Cemetery Hights, under Osborne, having a large sweep of the front and right | became hand-to-hand," but Pickett's force of our positions, 50 cannon;

the crest near Ziegler's Grove; Top, favorable for a direct or oblique fire; gade went into action with 1,427 officers and

any which might become disabled.

THE INFANTRY before the batteries, behind the stone wall, tion of the trees, he having arranged Gen. Stannard's Brigade of Vermonters near an angle in the line; next toward the left came the Third Corps, and, as we know, farther off, Sixth Corps (Sedgwick's).

assault were those of Smyth and Willard | ates "marched in, not as conquerors, but as (Hays's Division) and Webb, Hall and Harrow (Gibbon's Division).

THE SIGNAL GIVEN. At last the Confederate signal guns are fired-one-two, distinct and not misunderstood; for both armies had been waiting for that knell. Then, after just interval enough too high nor too low, and the projectiles were showered upon the space between Ziegler's Grove and Little Round Top and

opened up his 40 pieces from Little Round Top, the Confederate artillerists undertook to give blow for blow, striking blindly toward the most troublesome points. We concentrated our aim more than they. Over 200 heavy guns, now fired as fast as men could load and fire, filled the whole region of mountain, hill and valley with one continuous roar, yet instantly varied by sudden bolts at each lightning flash of the cannon's mouth, and by the peculiar, shrill screech of the breaking shells. Then the crash of destruction, the breaking of carriages, the killing and wounding of menin one of my regiments 27 at a single shot. Gen. Meade's headquarters were for a time in the hottest place; the house was riddled with shot, the chimney knocked in pieces. the door-yard plowed with them, officers and men wounded, and the patient horses, or numbers of them, killed, and, what seemed worse, others dreadfully wounded. My horses and those of my staff were being held behind a projecting cliff. The German boy, Charley Weiss, then Commissary Balloch's orderly, was with the holders; a fragment of an iron missile struck him, clipping off his left arm. So every part of that field was visited. Men were killed while straightening their teams; while carrying orders; on horseback; on foot; while talking, eating, or

QUICKLY CLEARED OF NON-COMBATANTS. camp-followers, and over-curious civilians. No orders were needed after the first bombshell exploded there. The air was so full of terror and death-dealing fragments, that every man at first must have doubted if he should majority in both armies were now well accustomed to artillery, and, shielding themselves by every possible cover at hand. quietly waited for this firing to cease. We stopped first. We did not want to waste ammunition, and knew what would follow that extraordinary cannonade. Many of the Confederate leaders thought that their fearful artillery had disabled ours and silenced

PICKETT'S GRAND CHARGE. Theirs then ceased, when, behold, a beautiful line of regiments, as I oh ed it-apparently but one. I seemed to see a mile of frontage, but we know there were two lines, and later more than that on one flank. The flags, still bright in the thinning haze of the sunlight, waved prettily, and looked like ours. On Pickett's Division came at a rapid pace. Our artillery began with round shot and shells. It made openings, but they were quickly closed. Nearer, nearer, the Confederates came; the front was narrower now and the flanks traceable. It was more like a column and bore to its left and aimed for N. Y. the Ziegler's Grove front. Hays, Gibbon, Doubleday and their brigade commanders and all their commands, in two lines, are behind the slight barricades and the walls. waiting the word. Hancock is on hand. He has the Vermonters placed among the trees at their angle so as to fire obliquely. Pickett's right flank is now plain to McGilvery : his 40 guns pour in their deadly shot, and lo! suddenly the whole front of Hancock's

trenchments. The Confederates seemed so give even better fruits to his hopes if once line is ablaze with small-arms. The Confirmly seized and manned with abundant | federates are mowed down like the wheat in artillery. It was not easy for our glasses to harvest; yet not all, for they do not stop. determine the new position of Lee's guns. | C. S. Peyton, who after Garnett's death suc-Near the ground occupied by Sickles at | ceeded to the command of his brigade of A Terrible Indictment of the Chief of the beginning of the battle of the 2d of July, Pickett's Division, says that the flank fire extending along the Emmittsburg road was | from the mountain was fearful; that he had a semi-circular line of about 40 pieces, fur- 10 men killed and wounded by a single ther south a few more, and on higher ground, | shell; that about this time the brigade rushas if in tiers, the remainder of that portion ed upon our lower line, at that point "conof Lee's artillery assigned to Longstreet, who | cealed in the grass " and about 100 paces in was to command the attack. There were here | front of "the stone wall about breast high." concentrated in this neighborhood at least | The batteries were behind the wall at the

> He alleges that the first line " was com-The Confederate artillery was ahead of the | pletely routed and driven in confusion back to the stone wall. Prisoners were captured and ordered to the rear without guard."

Now the brigade advanced in face of a galling fire" of both artillery and infantry to about 20 paces from the wall, when, for a few moments, they recoiled under the ter-Wilcox's, Perry's and Wright's-on its right, | rific fire." Then Kemper's Division coming and six brigades-Posey's, Mahone's, Petti- abreast to the right and Armistead in the victory." At this point the destruction of grew's, Walker's, Law's and Scales's-on its rear, all "rushed forward with unyielding determination and an apparent spirit of All is now ready on Lee's side. On ours, | laudable rivalry to plant the Southern ban-

SLAUGHTER OF THE REBELS. It was done. "The fighting over the wall was too weak "to rout the enemy." It (2) Hazzard had 30 finely located close to looked for and "hoped for support, but hoped in vain." The end must come to such (3) McGilvery about 40 near Little Round | an unequal contest. As a sample, one brimen, and came off with only about 300. (4) The reserve, which Gen. Hunt kept | Gen. Garnett, always cool and self-possessed, ready under shelter, for quick replacement of | was shot from his horse just in front of the fatal wall. Confederates Wilcox and Perry, with their supporting brigades, blinded had changed place but little. Hays's Divis- doubtless by the storm, had borne toward ion and Gibbon's, of the Second Corps, are | the right and Pickett had borne toward the left, thus the right support was lost to the and leftward behind the "under-pinning" | main charge. The support of Pettigrew fence-Doubleday's Division at the projec- and others on Pickett's left was more real, but in such a sudden charge and quick repulse this force came up only to suffer great losses with no substantial result. Stannard says that as soon as Pickett had changed his by Little Round Top, the Fifth Corps held | direction toward the right, he ordered a solidly the crests there, supported by the flank attack upon his column. This he made in a deployed line, firing at short The brigades now most exposed to direct range. Shortly, he tells us, the Confeder-

What first took place was in front of Hall's and Harrow's Brigades, but

THE HEAVIEST BLOW struck Webb's Brigade. Hancock says that when Armistead reached the wall, "the most of that part of Webb's Brigade posted to mark well the signal, the cannonading here abandoned their position, but fortubegan in good earnest. At first the hostile | nately did not retreat entirely." Webb and fire was unusually accurate, neither firing his officers rallied them behind the crest to re-enforce the rest of his brigade. Plenty of help soon came from Devereaux (19th Mass.), Mallon (42d N. Y.), and also from Hall's front. But why delay the conclusion. But as soon as Osborne set his guns in | Quickly, in some apparent confusion, our play from the Cemetery and McGilvery had brigades and regiments, with flags flying. charge upon the weakened foe. They (the Confederates) were everywhere beaten back. many became prisoners; many others threw away their arms and lay upon the ground to avoid the firing, and the whole front was strewn with the dead and dying. The Chicago panorama does not exaggerate the

I will reserve further personal reference to those whom I knew among the killed and wounded, and incidents of the battle which I have recorded, to a future paper.

THE LAST OPERATION recorded on the evening of the 3d of July was a sweep over the field in front of Little Round Top by McCandless's Brigade and some few other troops. This was probably ordered by Gen. Meade himself. Crawford sums it thus: "By this charge of McCandless's Brigade and the 11th regiment (Col. Jackson), the whole of the ground lost the previous day was retaken, together with all our wounded, who, mingled with those of the rebels, were lying uncared for."

[To be continued.]

A Defense of the Eleventh Corps.

To THE EDITOR: You published in THE TRIBUNE of Jan. 1 a terrific attack, by one James Beale, upon the badly used Gen. O. O. Howard. Whatever may have been the orders of Gen. Howard, it is plain to be seen that lying down. The low ground in our rear | Beale is actuated by a mean spirit in his hashed up article. It is most contemptible in any old soldier at this day, when so many of the comrades are in the dust of the grave, to dole out wholesale charges of cowardice against them as the record of their soldier life. When Comrade Beale or any other person brands the Eleventh Corps as a corps of cowards, he is falsifying the record. I care not to take him up truth, and nothing but the truth." I have compromise them if they fell into unfriendly is utterly wrong and without authority of law. that of Comrade Beale's, as few allusions to reports favorable to the brave Howard. Beale says Rodes drove back Schurz. If any candid man will view Bachelder's map of Gettysburg field, he will see two other brigades of the enemy directly on the flank of Badow's Division and two others still further in the rear of our men. In fact, the reason of such a large haul of prisoners made that day in the city, was owing to the rapid advance of the North Carolinians on our extreme right, and in that crowd gobbled in the town, the First Corps for outnumbered the Eleventh; yet no historian of the Beale stamp even has said their capture was chargeable to cowardice. The ground occupied by Barlow and by Schurz July 1 was thickly strewn with the dead and wounded. Steinwehr was not the Navy is demonstrated by Admiral ting down the rebellion, in which at the with us, but took position lack of the hights. As to artillery, I can speak for grand old Battery I, 1st Ohio (Capt. Dilget), which quite destroyed that rebel battery close under the hill and nearly in the rear of Robinson (of the First Corps), as shown on the map; but Robinson had been driven back at that time. It is enough to say, Beale, the Eleventh Corps saved the First Corps from utter rout on the first day at Gettysburg. My regiment was decimated by Rodes on that day. As to the brigade which stacked arms and fled, I think you are a big little off on that. Now, tell us frankly, were you in that fight? If so, did you not travel in a headquarter's wagon?—A.R. BARLOW, 157th

ST. DISTAFF'S DAY (January 7). Partly work and partly play, You must on St. Distaff's Day, From the plough soone free your teams, Then come home and fother them; If the maides a spinning goe, Burne the flax and fire the tow. 

Bring in pailes of water then.

And next morrow, everyone To his own vocation,—Herrick,

Let the maides bewash the men;

Give St. Distaffe all the right. Then bid Christmas sport good night;

the Southern Confederacy

GEN. W. T. SHERMAN.

A Crushing Array of Documentary Evidence.

THE CONSPIRACY PROVED

The Rebellion Plotted Long Before the Outbreak.

DAVIS'S INSINCERITY.

Every Principle Sacrificed to Ambition.

[The following is a full and complete copy of the important documents recently filed by Gen. Sherman with the Secretary of War. It is the only publication of the same revised and approved by Gen. Sherman.]

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 6, 1885. HON. ROBERT T. LINCOLN,

Secretary of War, Washington, D. C. SIR: I beg to submit for your considera. tion and disposal this paper, to be filed with the war records, which may aid others in search of historic truths.

Recently, at St. Louis, Mo., my present interceded and aided Gov. Thomas O. Moore as to these facts. residence, I was invited to assist in dedicat- to regain possession of his plantation at I certainly shall not reveal how I kept ing a new hall for the use of Frank P. Blair Bayou Robert, on the express ground that trace of Mr. Davis in September, 1864, and Post, No. 1, of the Grand Army of the Re- under the pressure brought to bear on him obtained reports of his speeches at Columbia, public, composed exclusively of Union sol- from Washington, he could hardly help act- Macon and Palmetto Station. These ought diers, their wives and children-a family ing as he did in 1861. I also renewed my all to be, and doubtlesse are, in the public affair,-in no sense a public meeting. The exercises consisted of short speeches, inter- | could to help him regain his property, and the spersed with army songs. I was one among last letter I find recorded is dated St. Louis, many speakers, and my remarks were Mo., Jan. 28, 1867, addressed to him at the purely ex tempore, without manuscript or St. Louis Hotel, New Orleans, advising him notes of any kind. My recollection of what as to the measures he should pursue to I did say is about this:

on having secured so good a hall in so con- troops from her plantation; also, to aid him venient a neighborhood; in the interest in his declared purpose to become connected manifested by so full an attendance; that with the management of the Opelousas Railit was good for old soldiers to meet and interchange the memories and traditions of a war in which they had borne an honorable part; that histories, memoirs, and stories were being published; that the Government was making progress in the publication of the official reports and correspondence-Union and Confederate; that, nevertheless, all these fell short of the whole truth; that each man's memory retained things of still greater interest to us, the survivors, and Civil War," which the Grand Army of the would have escaped the devastation which that I myself had seen and experienced Republic will preserve. much that had never been and would probably never be published, illustrating the assertion by what occurred in Louisiana prior to Feb. 24, 1861, when I left the State; back the Confederate army under Gen. Jo- South, which was as much an element of of letters and papers captured throughout seph E. Johnston, which had been assemthe war; that I had seen papers which con- bled for the relief of the beleaguered garrivinced me that even Mr. Davis, the President of the Southern Confederacy, had, dur- Miss., which I closely besieged. Some of State of the Confederacy attempt to secede

from that Government, etc. I HAD NO THOUGHT OR EXPECTATION that these remarks would be published at I sent for the box and had it brought to my all, much less in the garbled form to occasion discussion and ill-feeling; yet I shrink not sion from about July 15 to Aug. 5, 1863. from a just responsibility for every word | During that time I examined some of the uttered there, or at any time. Two of the St. Louis morning papers did publish reports of that meeting, including "my speech." much condensed, and, as usual, much improved by the intelligent reporters, who, ignoring the context, laid particular stress on "the letter of President Davis to the Governor of a State, now a Senator, whose name was not given." Mr. Davis, from his home at Beauvoir, has quoted these reports. and in a card, addressed to the St. Louis Republican, has pronounced my assertion dated Camp on Big Black, Aug. 5, 1863. false, and me a slanderer.

how much of truth was contained in the ate-writes of recent date that his private quotations, nor has any friend of his done papers had been returned to Mr. Davis by so. Many others have, and I have answered | Secretary of War McCrary. All I wish here them frankly, always discountenancing discussion in the newspapers.

THE WORLD HEEDS BUT LITTLE what I think of Mr. Davis, or he of me; but | written to Davis at Montgomery, by officers | law by Bragg and Van Dorn, or the whole sysall do want to know the "truth, the whole of undoubted loyalty, which I feared might tem of passports and Provost Marshals, which said a thousand times and now say again | hands, because at that day the name of Mr. there was a conspiracy throughout the Davis was synonymous with treason, Southern States in the Winter of 1860-1: that I myself was approached by a member of the Knights of the Golden Circle; that already done in his admirable work-"The head of the Government, the Commander-Scribner series; and that the cause permeated element in the problem of the war for put-Ammen in his contribution to the same series, entitled "The Atlantic Coast," both using the plain words-"conspiracy" and "conspirators."

Richmond in 1864-'65, I refer the student to to Gen. Halleck, in Washington: Dr. Draper's third volume, pages 448 and 449, "Civil War in America," and, as for the conspiracy itself, to "McPherson's History of the Rebellion," last edition, pages 391 and But it is

MY OWN PERSONAL EXPERIENCE to which I propose in the main to limit myself; not to one single disjointed paragraph, but to the whole subject-matter.

For the binding force of an oath, with the 'exceptions," I take Grotius, who is good authority the world over, and refer the curious to Book II, Chapter XIII, "Rights of War and Peace"; and for "Conspiracy" and "Rebellion," to Johnson's Dictionary.

## Grotius defines treason as synonymous in rebellion, begun in error and perpetuated in pride; but that Georgia can now save herself with assassination, and it has proven strangely true in our own case, though he wrote his famous book in 1625.

Page 496, Vol. I, Series I, Official Record of the Union and Confederate Armies, contains two dispatches; the first from Senators Benjamin and Slidell to D. W. Adams, President, Military Board, New Orleans; the second from John Slidell alone to Gov. Moore, of Louisiana, which are conclusive or a treasonable correspondence to compel the State authorities to seize by force the arsenal at Baton Rouge, the forts at the mouth of the Mississippi, etc. These two dispatches were not all of said correspondence; because, when in New Orleans, Feb. 20-24, 1861, I was much of the time with my old army

THE SEIZURE OF THE ARSENAL AND FORTS was a defensive measure, and he showed me copies of letters from Senators Benjamin and Slidell, addressed to Gov. Moore (whose Aid Bragg was) written on paper headed "U.S. Senate"-for they were then Senators under

comrade, Col. Braxton Bragg, who contended

the oath prescribed by the Constitution. I kept up my correspondence with the officers of the Institution over which I had presided, till May 13, 1861, and I have before me a copy of this correspondence with original letter of Braxton Bragg and many others in Louisiana. After the war was over, in 1865, I went back to Louisiana to help all I could to re-establish the Military Academy and Seminary of Learning, of which I had been President, and it exists to-day under the title of the Louisiana University.

correspondence with Gen. Bragg; tried all I establish the claim of his wife for certain

IN RE JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Now, as to Mr. Jefferson Davis. His general history is pretty well known and appreciated. His own history of the "Rise and Fall of the Southern Confederacy," a la letter to the Georgia Senators, page 201, Gibbon, is public, and subject to every man's | American Annual Cyclopædia, 1864. Had criticism; but of him, too, I have personal Georgia withdrawn in 1864, the Confederacy knowledge not meant for publication, but would have collapsed as a bubble, and to become a part of the "Traditions of the Georgia, South Carolina and North Carolina

son. That army took refuge in Jackson, that papers of Mr. Davis were being scat- propose to cull a few extracts. tered about for autographs and as souvenirs, bivouac, and held it in my personal possescontents, consisting of a large number of riod of 10 years, including the time when Montgomery, Ala., was the capital of the Confederacy, with marginal notes of his hand, and rolls of memoranda and notes in his handwriting of speeches made or to be made. This box was sent to Gen. Grant's Adjutant-General (Rawlins) in Vicksburg, with a request to send it on to Washington, along with my letter, which is of record. Col. R. N. Scott, who has charge of the He has never addressed me to inquire Records of the War-Union and Confederto remark is, that I sent it as it came into my possession, except that I withdrew and sent to the authors three several letters,

Again, in 1864, when we were in possession of Atlanta, Ga., I saw familiarly a great the head of that conspiracy was in Washing- number of gentlemen of that State, with ton; that its object was to destroy our whom I conversed freely. They spoke Government, and raise on its ruins a plu- openly and unreservedly of the tyranny of his nose-editors of journals recognized at the tocracy at the South. I cannot state the the Confederate authorities in Richmond. proposition better than John G. Nicolay has and of Mr. Davis particularly. He was the Outbreak of Rebellion,"-the first of the in-Chief of its armies. His character was an time I was an important factor. The cost of the war was then a matter of intense interest to Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Stanton, Mr. Chase and other leaders in Washington. On | the thing-the measures and policy-which I For the nature and kind of Government in | the 15th of September, 1864, I telegraphed

JEFF DAVIS'S TYRANNY.

"Gov. Brown has disbanded his militia to have reason to believe he and Stephens want | sorrow than anger." to visit me, and have sent them a hearty invitation.'

Lincoln this dispatch: "I feel great interest in the subjects of your dispatch, mentioning corn and sorghum and the contemplated visit to you."

On the same day I answered him direct by telegram: "I will keep the Department fully advised of all developments connected with the subjects

in which you feel interested. Mr. Wright, for-

Mr. King, of Marietta, are now going between

instead of devastating the land as we progress, I will keep our men to the highroads and commons, and pay for the corn and meat we need and take. I am fully conscious of the delicate nature of such assertions, but it would be a magnificent stroke of policy if we could, without surrendering principle or a foot of ground, arouse the latent enmity of Georgia against Subsequently, Sept. 25, I telegraphed Gen. Halleck, among other things: "Jeff Davis is at Macon." Again, on the 26th, I telegraphed to Gen. Grant at City Point: "Hood is now on the West Point road, 24 miles south of this, and draws his supplies by that road. Jefferson Davis is there to-day, and

from the devastations of war preparing for her

federate army, and aiding me to expel Hood

only by withdrawing her quota out of the Con-

from the borders of the State; in which event,

Promptly came Mr. Lincoln's answer: "You say Jeff Davis is on a visit to Gen. Hood. I judge that Brown and Stephens are the objects of his visit."

superhuman efforts will be made to break my

My answer to him of the 28th follows: "I have positive knowledge that Mr. Davis made a speech at Macon on the 22d, which I mailed to Gen. Halleck yesterday. It was bitter against Gen. Joe Johnston and Gov. Brown. The militia are on furlough. Brown is at Milledgeville, trying to get a Legislature to meet next month, but he is afraid to act unless in concert with other Governors. Judge Wright has been here, and Messrs. Hill and Nelson, former members of Congress, are here now; will go to meet Wright at Rome, and then go back to Madison and Milledgeville."

REPEATING HISTORY.

I would not quote these dispatches, except they have again and again been published in the report of the Committee on the Subsequently, when my personal friend, Conduct of the War, and in my own "Me-Henry Stanbury, was Attorney-General, I moirs" of 10 years ago, and never disputed

archives at Washington.

LINCOLN'S WONDERFUL SAGACITY. Mr. Lincoln, with his wonderful sagacity,

saw that Jeff Davis's visit to Georgia in September, 1864, was rather on account of Stephens and Brown than Hood. He was a statesman, I a mere soldier who watched I congratulated the members of the Post | forage and supplies taken by the Union | the desperate move for its military chances; and I was absolutely convinced that Davis then suspected the fidelity of Stephens and Brown to him as the head and front of the "Richmond Confederacy": for it had ceased to be a Confederacy of "Sovereign States."

The "Secession" of 1861 had become "Separate State Action" in 1864, and Davis was opposed to it, as he well might be. See his necessarily followed. When in Atlanta I In the Summer of 1863, when Vicksburg | had possession of a vast amount of captured surrendered to Gen. Grant, he dispatched letters and newspapers, which enabled me me with a sufficient force to catch or drive | to trace the current of public opinion in the force as that of muskets.

STEPHENS'S LETTER TO JOHNSON.

I have now before me an original letter from Alex. H. Stephens, Vice President of ing the progress of the war, changed his the foragers of the army found in the garret the Southern Confederacy, to Herschel V. States-Rights doctrines and had threatened of the house of Mr. Joe Davis, a brother to Johnson, of almost equal fame, dated Crawto use force—even Lee's army—should any Jefferson Davis, a-box containing his private fordsville, Ga., April 8, 1864, too long—16 papers and brought it to camp. Hearing | pages-to be quoted entire, from which I

I assert of my own knowledge that every word is in the handwriting of Alexander H. Stephens. He writes:

"As for Mr. Davis, I repeat again I have no feelings of antipathy, much less of hostility. What opinious you may think I entertain of letters addressed to Mr. Davis during a pe- no hesitancy in stating to you freely and frankly, and most confidentially, what my opinions of him are. They are much more akin to suspicion and jealousy than of ani-

"While I do not, and never have, regarded him as a great man or statesman on a large intentions, weak and vacillating, timid, lant, peevish, obstinate, but not firm. I am I say doubt, for after watching him closely elevation to power he has changed many of his the conscription. His whole policy on the organization and discipline of the Army is perfectly consistent with the hypothesis that he is aiming at absolute power.

and others against these usurpations, not one word has escaped Mr. Davis showing his disapproval of them. Again, it is well known that the subject of a Dictatorship has been mooted, talked of and discussed in private, as well as in public journals, and that the most earnest advocates of such a course, the virtual doing away with Congress and the Constitution, have been editors near him-right under time to be the organs of the Administration. Now, it seems strange that this should be so, and men holding and advocating such sentiments for months should hold such relation to him when such sentiments were distasteful to

"But, again, I assure you I feel no more hostility to him than I do to you and great numbers I meet with who see no danger in these things. My hostility and wrath (and I have enough to burst ten thousand bottles) is not against him or any man or men, but against see is leading us to despotism.

"You may have heard me in conversation speak of his weakness and imbecility, but certainly with no bitterness of feeling; and what gather the corn and sorghum of the State. I I have said on these subjects has been more in

"This erv of sustaining the Administration. you will allow me to say, with all due respect Two days after I received from President to you, is nothing but a stupid, senseless cachinnation. Nobody approves it. I heard that Gen. Cobb, in his speech at Milledgeville, said all the acts of Congress were proper, wise and just; and yet, I do know that Gen. Cobb spoke very differently to me of some of them before they were passed. Why will men so degrade themselves by attempting to bamboozle the

people?" etc. ANOTHER CAPTURED DOCUMENT. I have never spoken or written of Mr. mer Member of Congress from Rome, Ga., and Davis as plainly as Mr. Stephens did in Gov. Brown and myself. I have said to them April, 1864, after he had been associated that some of the people of Georgia are engaged | with him three years in the Government of